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intermarry with the village of Nasangalau in every generation. Apparently the clan of Sisiwakaimba are forming a similar connection with Sikeli. The late Tui Cakau married a daughter from the clan of Sisiwakaimba; he, his son, and his granddaughter married into that clan. Relationships thus become intricate, one person being related to another in many ways.

Kinship involves much etiquette. The following excellent account of etiquette between relatives was given to me by Vola, great-grandson of the Third Lord of Naiau:

Father and child. Our fathers are treated with respect (*vakarokorokotaki*) though not feared by their children. A child may not carry off anything that has been in contact with him, such as clothes, mats, cups, etc.; he may not use his father's plate, nor eat his leavings, nor tread upon the place where he sleeps. He may take other things. If the father is noble, the children get swellings (*fula*) if they do these things. Greater respect is shown to an uncle; uncle and nephew may not speak together; to father and son all things are allowed except to such as are noble. They may not eat out of the same plate as the father, but they may eat at the same time. Among the common people (*kaisi*) there are no observances: a son will walk anywhere.

Mother and child. Children make light of their mothers and respect their fathers. They may take the mother's clothes provided they are not used by the father and may eat the food she leaves.

Brother and sister. Brothers [or sisters] may take each other's property. My wife's younger sister may take our property; so may my younger brothers. Brothers may not jest in an unseemly manner. The younger may not take the property of the elder, though the custom is breaking down. The elder may take the property of the younger, but it depends upon him. If he is reserved, and is not familiar, they fear him; but if he takes their things recklessly and plays with them they have no respect for him. Brothers in the nobility do not chat, or talk with an appearance of cheerfulness; they will only talk with glances at one another. It is usual for the elder to address the younger first.

It is forbidden for brother and sister to speak together or use the same clothes. If our sister is in the house we may not enter it, unless it is a case of necessity. If a brother goes to drink kava he may enter, if it is a kava held on some occasion, not merely to pay a visit. If he enters he keeps at a distance from his sister. If he is in the same house with her he studies his speech, so that it take no unseemly turn. If he comes and sees his sister he goes out again. At the present day they may both be present at a meal, if the father and mother are there and he keeps at a distance; he eats quickly and goes out. This begins when he reaches the age of reason. If a boy is not circumcised he may sleep in his father and mother's house (*vale soso*); he does not as yet get a bachelor's house (*mbure*); after circumcision he has one. If he is circumcised late and has attained to reason he may not stay in the house with his sister. I do not know of a single case in which brother and sister have had connection.

Grandfather and grandchild. The relationship of grandfather and grandchild involves etiquette. If the grandfather has something good, such as planted food he gives it to his grandchild. If the grandfather is a noble his grandchildren may not eat with him. They may take anything belonging to their grandfather except, in the case of nobles, what has touched his body. The same applies to father and son who are not noble.

Grandmother and grandchild. If the grandmother is a lady (*marama*), it is exactly the same, that is if she ranks higher (*turanga*) than the rest of the family. If

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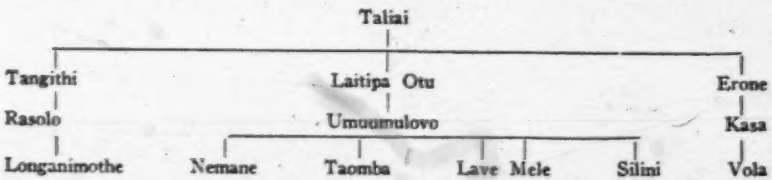
same time. Ratu Sukuna refused to dine with you on account of his uncle, Ratu Finau, being present, because they would have been too close to one another; but they may eat in Fijian fashion because they sit at a distance from one another. If one speaks the other takes no notice (*vakawelewele*); he looks down; they do not converse as they would at an European meal. The etiquette between aunt and niece, or between opposite sexes is the same.

The remarks by Vola concerning cousins may perhaps be better understood by referring to the following extract from his pedigree:



Cousins may take each other's property and tell the other afterwards. They may take things for good. One says "I'll just take this thing;" and takes it; if he chooses to return it, good; if not, so. But now I am married to Lave, Nemane, Taomba, and Silini may not take, or even ask for any apparel worn by me; they can only take lanterns and so on; it is as if Lave and I were one body. Nemane may not talk with Lave; Nemane and I may still joke. Yavutha may be impudent and carry away objects, clothes, etc., because he is not Lave's own brother; he is father to her. Longanimothe may be impudent, but may not take clothes and such things, because he is Lave's brother through his father. If a man speaks his cousin may say, "It's a lie; it's a lie"; a younger brother may not. A cousin may take a whole field of taro without blowing the conch; only the sister's son blows the conch. There is no feast of putting on the loin cloth [which gives a nephew the right to seize his uncle's property]."

Cousins of opposite sexes who are not man and wife may take each other's property without leave: thus Mele may take my things. They are impudent to one another. They may tell each other to do a thing; thus I will tell Mele to wash my clothes. They may not have sexual intercourse; it is bad for them to do so, especially if it is done under the cover of domestic relations [*vakavundei*, a term which applies also to bachelors living together], that is by giving her clothes to wash, and then profiting by it to have connection. It is better if they have connection, after having had no ordinary relations. It is worse if a man commits adultery with his brother's wife; it is not so serious if she is the wife of a stranger.

There is no prohibition between man and wife; no restrictions; the women prepare the food. I think formerly a noble would eat with his chief wife (*alewa mbau*), the others serving. The wife may or may not eat with her husband, he being noble or not, as she pleases.

Observation confirms Vola's statement that there is no special etiquette towards the father and mother, unless they are noble; but if they are noble

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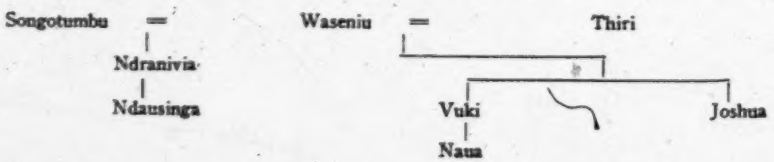
there is great reserve between them and their adult or adolescent children. The eldest son, aged about thirteen, of the High Chief always spoke of his father as Ratu, which may be translated the Noble Lord. Though I was constantly in the house of the leading nobleman I saw his son there only

once, and that was when they were leaving for Tonga; and even then they took very little notice of one another. The only time I saw the same nobleman's wife at her son's house they exchanged no greeting and took no notice of one another.

This attitude it is which Vola describes as *vakawelewele* (careless, indifferent, not attending) and it is characteristic of those relationships that forbid familiarity. In marked contrast was the attitude of persons differently connected or not connected at all. People of far lower rank than a nobleman will chat freely with him though respectfully, and use his name with no honorary prefix such as Ratu or Roko.

A man ranks before his father's younger brother, yet he respects and obeys him. In the following pedigree Ndausinga is the son of a still older brother than Naua's father; according to Joshua, Ndausinga comes first; but it was also held that it was possible for Joshua to come first because he and Ndausinga's father had different mothers; on the other hand Naua's father and Joshua had the same mother, so Nana comes first.



A man formerly addressed his younger brother's son as *leikai* or *iyau*. The word *iyau* is also a formal expression (*vakatuturanga*) addressed by a man to his servants (*ona tamata*).

A grandchild is apt to be spoiled; it is a common sight to see him sidling up to the grandparents or sitting on their laps.

Seniority among brothers is expressed by saying that one is old, the other young (*ngone*) the common Fijian way of expressing the comparative.

The relations between brothers were best observed at Joshua's. Joshua would sit in the middle or towards the upper end of his house, facing the door at the lower end, talking in his usual decided way to any one but his brother, who would sit in a dark corner beside the door, presenting a three-quarter view to Joshua and appearing utterly indifferent to conversation, even about himself; he might be munching at the remnants of Joshua's meal. When addressed he would reply shortly without looking at his brother. Vuki, the eldest brother, was the head of the family preceding his death;

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No control is exercised over children in the matter of food. Children eat at all hours, and as much as they like. When hungry they cry for food, sometimes up to the age of ten or more.

Parents are excessively indulgent to their children, and adults generally their parents in a concourse of adults and eat with them. I remember seeing only once a child beaten by its father. The idea that a child should be controlled seems wanting. A child that flies from its angry parents to some relative is not rejected. A Lauan said to me once, "We see white children how still they keep, and think they are to be pitied."

The people do not believe in educating children. Small children are said to be without minds (*tawa vakayalo*). Bigger children are watery souled (*yalo wai*). It is generally believed that it is useless to teach them anything, and that schools ought to be for big boys, almost young men. To the argument that the education of young children gives the best results in Europe, it is answered that Fijian children are quite different.

The education of Fijian children consists therefore in picking up things as they go along by example. The way in which they learn dances is characteristic: they do not join until about the sixteenth year, when they are left to muddle through. Their ignorance is therefore extraordinary and in marked contrast to the greater maturity of the children of the New Georgian group of the Solomon Islands, who, mixing freely in the conversation of their elders and sometimes conducting religious ceremonies in the absence of adults, are consequently early acquainted with many things.

The Lauan children pick up tales, but tell them most unintelligently. Much depends on the grandmother. Mosese was an exceptional boy in telling tales; the reason given for this was that he was "a boy with a grandmother" (*ngone vakatumbuna*). His grandmother, a lady, used to tell him tales heard from the nobles.

On the other hand, children pick up practical knowledge very early, because they begin to help their parents—boys, their fathers; girls, their mothers—at an early age, though at their own sweet will, more as a game at first. Gradually this develops into regular and real work till at the age of fifteen or sixteen they are enrolled among the adults as far as work is concerned. One energetic man boasted that he paid taxes at fifteen. Children thus very soon become experts on fishes and plants. When walking about, their chief interest is not the scenery but the food plants they descry. Food is indeed their chief interest, and they define everything in terms of food.

Crying is indulged in till a late age, but is more a sign of anger than of grief, especially vicious howling. Tui Tumbou thought Matuku boys

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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 606 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 606 618 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

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854 The infant is petted and encouraged by all his female relatives. When he cries his wishes are usually fulfilled. He becomes accustomed to the presence of people, noise, and light, and under these conditions he falls asleep, wakes, and sucks. As a result, a healthy child does not cry often or long, but is placid, good-natured, and content. He likes attention, and responds to it with a smile. He is spoiled by his grandmother, [857] especially if he is the first born, and he is often played with and carried about by little girls of nine or ten. The growth and 856 development of the child are a matter of interest to his relatives who discuss and make much of his first tooth, his learning to crawl, stand, and walk. If the child is slow in learning to stand he is taken, according to the natives, to the beach where a hole is dug in the sand. He is placed in the hole in standing position and buried up to his chest. The child remains in this position for some time. This is done almost every day until he is able to stand.

854 As the child learns to walk he gradually shows more independence. He spends more time with his relatives apart from his mother and with the children of his own age group. Very early he begins to feel his way into the behavior patterns toward his kin, and the ties between the child and his grandparents grow closer. He learns to call his grandmother by the 854 pet name, *tutu*. His grandparents become a refuge to him, for 603 he knows that they will always welcome him and protect him from the scolding and ill temper of his parents.

Occasionally at this age a child who is the first born goes to live in the house of his paternal grandparents. While we were in Tokalau, little Peni Lawathi, between one and two years of age, lived with his paternal grandparents and their three unmarried daughters. He was a bright responsive child, the first born of his generation. Some relative was always playing or joking with him. He was demanding. He was rarely with his mother or widowed maternal grandmother,

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both of whom lived in the house next to his paternal grandparents.

Soon the child recognizes in his father the most important person in the household. He is a little afraid of him and begins to respect him. He learns not to touch or take anything pertaining to the person of his father—his mat, pillow, comb, or *lavalava*. He knows that if he, his brothers and sisters, or his mother disobey his father they will be scolded, perhaps whipped. At the same time he admires his father and is delighted by any attention from him. He calls him by the pet name, *tata*. His father does not play with him often, but occasionally he takes the child on his back to attend a meeting or to visit a neighbor.

Up to this time there has been little or no distinction between a boy and a girl. Both have been equally welcomed into the community, feted, nursed, and petted. Now a sex distinction becomes apparent. As the little boy grows older he is more frequently seen in the company of his father than is his sister. Occasionally he is taken on his father's back to the garden, while the little girl remains in the village with the women. Within the father-child relationship pattern there is considerable individual variation. Some fathers show a great deal of affection toward their children. The headman of Undu village played with his small offspring of both sexes often, and was rarely seen about the village without one or two babies on his back or on his lap. Some fathers are very much attached to their first born sons. The jealous antagonism, which later becomes marked between father and grown son, is not apparent when the boy is a child. The child treats his uncles in much the same way as he treats his father. His "big" fathers (the father's older brother and the mother's older brother) are honored more than the rest.

The child's attitude of increasing respect toward his father contrasts with his attitude of familiarity toward his mother. Although no longer physically dependent upon her, he con-

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593 854 562 tinues to play with her and with her personal property. His mother's subordinate position to her husband and the adult males in the household reinforces this behavior pattern, as does also the general status of women in the community. The mother continues to be lenient toward him unless she is in a bad mood, when she is likely to fly into a rage at a trifle.

855 ●603 593 One day while talking to Kama in my house at Tokalau, we were interrupted by the screams of his three-year-old granddaughter. Pursued by Lute, her mother, who carried a stick, the terrified child was running in the direction of my house. Lute, six months pregnant, was walking with a determined stride and gaining ground. Kama called to his granddaughter to come to him but not hearing him, she turned and ran around the next house. He left my house, and, calling the child by name, walked toward the pair who had now rounded the house and were again approaching. This time the child noticed him and ran to him. When Lute caught up with them Kama calmly and resolutely raised his hand and slapped Lute's face. She turned and walked away and he, comforting the child, brought her back with him to my house.

855 On another occasion I heard the screams of a child issuing from a neighboring kitchen house. A woman in a tantrum was whipping a child with a stick. She stopped until his screams abated, then whipped him again. This was repeated with morbid viciousness three or four times until a relative snatched the child away.

However, a child is not whipped often. If he takes forbidden property or fails to show respect where it is due he is scolded or slapped. If he is bubbling his lips the mother will [863] remove his hand or slap him for it. He is not allowed to defecate in the house, but if he does so on the house platform or in front of the house, he is usually ignored. Gradually he learns to go to the beach or the bush. Infants sleep on baby mats, which are washed and sunned rather frequently. One